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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2599th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 21 June 1985, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. D. H. N. ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2599)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 17 June 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17279)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 17 June 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17279)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with a decision taken at the 2598th meeting, I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Seychelles, South Africa and the Sudan to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Miss Chiepe (Botswana) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas), Mr. Schlegel (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Mr. Kofa (Liberia), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa) and Mr. Biridо (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, Swaziland and the United Republic of Tanzania, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Malinga (Swaziland) and Mr. Foum (United Republic of Tanzania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following change in the draft resolution before the Council in document S/17291. The eighth preambular paragraph should read as follows:

> "*Commending* Botswana for its unflagging adherence to the conventions relating to the status of refugees[1] and of stateless persons[2] and for the sacrifices it has made and continues to make in giving asylum to victims of *apartheid*,".

4. The first speaker is Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. BHATT (Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*): Mr. President, I wish to extend to you and to the members of the Council, on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and on my own behalf, our gratitude and thanks for allowing me to participate in this meeting. I should also like to extend to you my congratulations on your assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that the Council will, under your wise leadership, be able to adopt effective measures to induce the racist régime of South Africa to cease forthwith its aggression and destabilization schemes against independent African States and its terrorist campaign against the people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

6. I should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to the representative of Thailand, who during his presidency last month discharged his responsibilities with great distinction.

7. The Council is today considering the latest aggression of the racist régime of South Africa against Botswana in the aftermath of its covert military mission of sabotage in northern Angola. This latest act of aggression took place just when the Council was considering the question of Namibia and the decision the Pretoria authorities to install

a puppet régime in Namibia to perpetuate its domination over and exploitation of Namibia. The pattern of criminal behaviour on the part of the racist régime of South Africa necessitates some action from the Council to inhibit it from persisting in its aggression and in its destabilization schemes.

8. On the morning of 14 June, members of the so-called South African Defence Force raided Botswana, killing 12 persons, including three women and a six-year-old child, and injuring six. Among the injured were a 10-year-old girl and a Dutch lady. The racist forces of South Africa also fired indiscriminately at passing motorists and set a number of vehicles on fire, and two Botswana citizens were injured. The dastardly act by the racist régime also resulted in the destruction of 10 targets in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana.

9. On 15 June, *The Guardian* of London described the events, stating:

> "It seems like an unpardonable act of contempt for international law, by a bully who knew he could get away with it, against one of the least offensive countries in the world."

The newspaper concluded that mere protest would have no effect at all.

10. This naked aggression by the Pretoria régime against civilian targets must be condemned, and punitive measures must be adopted to meet the breach of peace and the threat to international peace and security emanating from that wanton act.

11. The Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. J. N. Garba, in his statement in the Council on 11 June on the question of Namibia [*2585th meeting*], reiterated the position of the Special Committee on this question and urged the Council to take positive action to face the defiance of the racist régime of South Africa to the United Nations and to world public opinion.

12. Furthermore, the Special Committee, through its numerous reports, conferences, seminars and other activities, has warned the international community of the lack of resolve to meet the threat to peace and security in Africa and the world at large resulting from the oppression and aggression of the *apartheid* régime. We are well aware of the situation, and as early as 1975, the Special Committee drew the attention of the international community to the aggression of the racist régime of South Africa against Angola. Therefore, while urging the Council to take firm action against South Africa's latest aggression, I wish to address, on behalf of the Special Committee, a special appeal to the Western members of the Council to join the international community in its demands for effective, punitive action against South Africa. The failure of the Council to adopt comprehensive mandatory action under Chapter VII of the Charter has led to an unprecedented defiance by the Pretoria authorities of the United Nations and of world public opinion.

13. I wish to repeat, on behalf of the Special Committee and on my own behalf, that the primary cause of tension and conflict in southern Africa has been and remains the inhuman policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa. Any illusion that peace and security can be brought to southern Africa through an amelioration of the *apartheid* laws and directives will prove not only false, but also costly. As recent events have shown, the régime considers the appeasement of certain Western Powers and, in particular, the Government of the United States, as a justification for its obstruction of the implementation of the independence plan for Namibia, its escalation of aggression against Angola, the initiation of new terrorist campaigns against Botswana and the furtherance of its oppression and killing of innocent black South Africans.

14. These aggressive acts perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against Botswana, as well as similar acts committed in the past against the territories of Angola and Mozambique, prove that the régime is involved in State terrorism against innocent civilians and economic targets. The Special Committee has declared on many occasions that the régime is an international outlaw and that it has felt emboldened to commit such heinous crimes because of the protection and the backing of certain Western Governments, in particular the Government of the United States. Accordingly, while the racist régime of South Africa is the main culprit, it is high time that the international community take action against it and prohibit its collaborators from continuing to provide it with political backing and with the military and economic means to perpetuate its crimes.

15. The Special Committee believes that the *apartheid* régime's killing of innocent civilians of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) is related to the fact that that régime cannot tolerate any opposition to *apartheid*. The intensification of the struggle by the people of South Africa inside their country to dismantle the diabolical system of *apartheid* poses a threat to the régime and its false propaganda concerning its reforms. Thousands of workers, students and people from all other segments of the population are engaged in a sacred battle to liberate their country and to exercise their right to self-determination in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Their struggle deserves the support and solidarity of the international community. Any attempt by the régime to use brute force to crush the struggle must be totally rejected.

16. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of the Special Committee, to urge the following measures to counter this criminal act by the Pretoria régime:

—First, the condemnation, in unequivocal terms, of the racist régime of South Africa for its gruesome act of terrorism;

—Secondly, the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and, in particular, the enforcing of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 418

(1977) and its strengthening by the inclusion of embargoes on nuclear collaboration with South Africa and on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa;

—Thirdly, the extension of moral and material support to the victims of this aggression and, in particular, the commendation of the Government and people of Botswana for their sacrifices in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa;

—Fourthly, the reaffirmation of the solidarity with and support for the people of South Africa and their liberation movements, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

17. The United Nations has a special responsibility to the people of South Africa and should take action to protect them from the outlawed acts of the racist régime and to provide them with moral and material support. This issue is of the utmost urgency because it involves a threat to the lives of innocent people. Action cannot be delayed any longer.

18. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Lesotho. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

19. Mr. MAKEKA (Lesotho): Mr. President, a few days ago you were kind enough to allow my delegation to appear before the Council on the urgent question of Namibia. Let me therefore again add my delegation's felicitations to those expressed to you earlier, as well as to the President for the month of May.

20. On that earlier occasion, I alluded to the acts of aggression recently committed in both Angola and Botswana by South Africa. I am grateful, Sir, that you have once again permitted us to take part in the consideration by the Council of the situation prompted by the invasion of the Republic of Botswana by South Africa.

21. It has now become an uncontested fact known to all members of the Council that units of the South African army crossed the Botswana border on 14 June at about one o'clock in the morning and attacked its capital, Gaborone, murdering several people, including women, children and refugees. Conducted in the dark of night, the raid also caused extensive damage to property. A detailed account of this act of aggression was eloquently given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana [*2598th meeting*] at the beginning of this debate on this sad episode in the history of southern Africa. In a great many respects, the massacre in Gaborone and the invasion of Botswana are reminiscent of several other similar criminal acts by the racist régime against its neighbours, including my own country in 1982.

22. This is not the first time that the Council has been requested to consider South Africa's gross violation of the Charter by invading one of its sovereign neighbours, a State member of the Organization. Records of such barbarous attacks abound and include repeated violations of Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho, not to mention the unending occupation and rule of terror in Namibia. The Council on this day is focusing on the invasion in Botswana, and the world community should ask why Gaborone was attacked.

23. The reasons given by Pretoria actually do not differ much from those given in nearly all the previous similar criminal acts of terrorism against neighbouring States. Once again, General Viljoen of the South African Armed Forces announced that there had been a successful pre-emptive strike against bases of the ANC. Threatening a repetition of the treacherous nocturnal assault unless Botswana removed the alleged remaining terrorists, the General of the racist régime's forces ascribed numerous acts of violence in South Africa to refugees living in Botswana. As usual, the General displayed a rocket launcher and a gun drawn from his array of arsenals in an attempt to justify his country's invasion of Botswana, which he stated had been postponed for close to three years for political considerations. The General's arrogant utterances to newsmen were soon followed by another attempt by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Information of South Africa, Mr. Botha, at explaining why his country invaded Botswana. His efforts at explanation are contained in document S/17282. It is claimed in that document, among other things, that some 36 acts of terror and violence in South Africa had been planned and executed from Botswana within the preceding 11 months. For these and other reasons, the South African army had to invade Botswana and murder the so-called ANC terrorists.

24. But who were these terrorists who were killed? What was their identity? They included a six-year-old boy—I repeat, a six-year-old citizen of Lesotho—Peter Kamohelo Mofoka, who was in Gaborone visiting his aunt, Mrs. Machobane, the wife of a South African refugee. The aunt reports that the boy screamed because he was terrified by the raiders' machine-gunning of her husband. The soldiers tried in vain to quiet the boy, who kept crying out loudly. They first covered him with his blanket to muffle his voice, but annoyed that his voice grew louder, they riddled his body with bullets and thus succeeded in silencing him for ever. Was this boy a terrorist? Lesotho bitterly mourns the death of her son and has made arrangements to have his body returned to his motherland for burial at a resting place reserved for all Basotho victims of South Africa's racism, *apartheid* and State terrorism.

25. We have been informed that these so-called terrorists included South African refugees, a Dutch citizen and a Somali. We mourn for all those who lost their lives in this raid. We mourn also for Kamohelo and many other daughters and sons of Lesotho who fell prey to South Africa's unneighbourly acts. We are duty-bound to seize this opportunity to report further that South Africa has not tried to comply with Security Council resolution 527 (1982), nor made any attempt to pay the stipulated compensation for damage to life and property resulting from that aggressive act of 1982 against my country.

26. Kamohelo Mofoka, our latest young martyr, personifies what has been described by Pretoria as the increasing

number of terrorists from Botswana who have been blamed for the ongoing instability and unrest inside South Africa owing to the internal opposition to racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

27. There is hardly a week that goes by without South African courts prosecuting people for the ongoing riots and disturbances. In all these court proceedings, not one has involved across-the-border incursions from Botswana. It is true that South Africa is facing considerable internal problems emanating from its racial policies, but none of the riots and violence can be explained by imagined infiltrations from Botswana, Lesotho or any other neighbouring country. If anything, Minister Botha's account of contacts with his counterpart in Gaborone shows that there was no justification for South Africa to use force against Botswana. The Governments of the two countries have been in continuous dialogue on a variety of issues affecting their relations. As General Viljoen said, the invasion of Botswana had long been decided upon and had been postponed for years.

28. Botswana has over the years hosted thousands of refugees. The majority have been South Africans and Namibians. As documents of the Council show, these refugees have comprised students, youths, single adults and families. Some are in schools, others are self-employed or accommodated in refugee settlements. Missions of the Secretary-General have visited Botswana each year and reported both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly on the refugee population in Botswana. In all the reports on those visits, the Republic of Botswana was never found to have any foreign bases. Starting with document S/12421 of 26 October 1977, down through the years to the latest report preceding the liberation of Zimbabwe, Botswana never had and still does not have any such bases.

29. It will be recalled that Botswana made a solemn undertaking on its attainment of independence that it would not and could not allow its territory to be used as a sanctuary for guerrilla activities against its powerful neighbour, South Africa. This undertaking was repeated this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana. There is hardly a year that goes by without various representatives of the Botswana Government repeating and reaffirming this cardinal principle and commitment. Botswana has no ANC guerrillas anywhere within its borders. The ANC never claimed to have any in that country either. The fact is that Botswana, like Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other countries, does grant political asylum and will continue to extend refuge to thousands of South Africans, regardless of race, who flee their country for freedom from tyranny and persecution by *apartheid*.

30. Members of the Council should not hesitate in recognizing that South Africa last week sent troops to Gaborone not to kill ANC guerrillas engaged in plots, but to murder innocent refugees, Botswana nationals and citizens of countries like my own, while asleep. The intention was to terrorize the Botswana populace and force the Botswana people to close their doors to fugitives from injustice. It is about time that the policies of terror of our neighbour are contained. South Africa cannot go on in its high-handed manner for ever.

31. We have repeatedly warned the world community that South Africa pursues a policy of destabilizing its neighbours and hence desires no peace in southern Africa. The South African army occupies parts of Angola and has lately conducted acts of sabotage in that country. A few days ago, the Council focused on decades of South Africa's defiance of the United Nations in its refusal to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Council has just concluded its consideration of the Angolan complaint against South Africa.

32. At the risk of sounding monotonous, my delegation once more pleads with those members of the Council that have influence over the rulers in Pretoria and Cape Town to exert pressure on the racist régime to desist from their resumed policies of destruction. Some permanent members of the Council have maintained close bonds of friendship and alliance with South Africa against peoples of African descent. They can do more than utter empty statements of abhorrence and condemnation of their racist friends. We appeal most earnestly for positive action to end this genocidal adventurism on the African continent.

33. In conclusion, we join the many delegations that have spoken before us in the appeal to the Council to restrain South Africa from flouting international law and from its pursuit of terrorism in southern Africa.

34. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): We are nearly at the end of our debates on southern Africa, Sir, and my delegation is privileged to have worked under the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, to whom we wish to pay a more than deserved tribute for the essentially positive results we have been able to obtain, notwithstanding some predictable difficulties. You, Sir, have taken up the presidential responsibilities with the traditional open-mindedness which marks the diplomacy of Trinidad and Tobago and which is a constant feature of your personal and professional conduct.

35. It gives me pleasure to welcome to the Council the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana. My delegation would ask her to convey to her Government the deep fraternal sympathy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar for the loss of human life caused by the recent South African aggression.

36. At this morning's meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana made a moving appeal on behalf of the refugees from *apartheid* and of the policy to which Botswana is committed, along with a harsh, enlightening indictment of *apartheid* and of the Pretoria régime's practices towards its neighbours. We are particularly grateful to her for this, and our present contribution to the debate will be confined to a few additional observations.

37. We have reached the point where South Africa wanted us to be: after repeated acts of aggression, it had

reason to hope that an exhausted Security Council would confine itself to a repetition of condemnations, to which it would pay no more than fleeting attention. Last Friday's attack on the capital of Botswana is evidence of this, for South Africa—the self-proclaimed champion in the struggle against international terrorism—has had a momentary triumph.

38. South Africa's naïvety is matched by its cynicism, and this time the *apartheid* régime chose as its victim a peaceful, defenceless State which must, unfortunately, make the best of an unfavourable, even hostile, political and economic environment, but which, owing to its geographic position, its traditions and its international and regional commitments, must also be a land of refuge for those who have chosen no longer to suffer under *apartheid*.

39. Moreover, it is easy for the Pretoria régime—with the encouragement of those who in these last years of the twentieth century persist in an outmoded ideological crusade—to accuse the ANC, the liberation movement which is followed by the oppressed African masses, of having perpetrated 36 acts of so-called terrorism planned and carried out from Botswana. Our first reaction is that the racist régime has no right to speak of terrorism, especially in connection with legitimate opposition to its wayward policies, and that the régime is guilty of fraudulent misrepresentation. Our second reaction is that as long as the *apartheid* system persists, with its train of brutality, massacres of peaceable demonstrators, imprisonment, torture, and elimination of embarrassing witnesses, the ANC has the right to rebel and, if necessary, to resort to the use of weapons to reply to violence and repression.

40. The premeditated, unprovoked armed attacks carried out by the Pretoria régime against neighbouring African States are without question deliberate, flagrant and repeated violations of the Charter of the United Nations and run counter to the established norms of international law and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. As I said yesterday with regard to the complaint of Angola, we must draw the necessary conclusions if we are loyal to the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations in general and of the Security Council in particular.

41. For the present, we have the duty to respond to the request of the Republic of Botswana that justice be done. It is in that spirit that, along with the delegations of Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago, we have introduced draft resolution S/17291.

42. We unreservedly condemn all acts of aggression, provocation, harassment, terrorism and destabilization committed by the Pretoria régime against Botswana. We demand that South Africa not hide behind the fact that no non-aggression pacts exist between itself and certain of its neighbours in order to continue to commit such acts.

43. We hope that the mission that the Secretary-General will detail to Botswana will enable the international community to provide assistance to that country so that it may legitimately defend itself against South African terrorism and strengthen its ability to harbour refugees from the land of *apartheid*. Those refugees, be they of the ANC or not, are also entitled to security, protection and well-being.

44. Our reply to South Africa must be firm and unequivocal; this would pay a tribute to Botswana for its devotion to its international political and humanitarian obligations, for its courageous commitment to the common struggle against *apartheid* and for its desire to live in peace in that troubled region.

45. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Only yesterday the Council heard the complaint made by Angola against South Africa, and the Council adopted its resolution 567 (1985), in which it strongly condemned South Africa for its renewed, intensified, premeditated and unprovoked acts of aggression, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and seriously endanger international peace and security.

46. Today I am compelled to speak in order to express Thailand's position on the latest aggression by South Africa, this time against the Republic of Botswana. My delegation, together with the rest of the international community, learned with grave concern of the military attack by South Africa against the capital of the neighbouring country of Botswana which resulted in the loss of lives of innocent civilians, including children, in Gaborone, as well as damage to property there.

47. This morning we heard the detailed account of the incident given us by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Botswana. I should like to take this opportunity to convey to her the warm respect of my delegation.

48. There was a passage in the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana which struck my delegation as being especially relevant to our deliberations, and I shall therefore quote it. She said:

> "We have long warned that the pestilence of racism will consume us all in the region if it is allowed to go on unchecked; no commando raids against the front-line States will bring South Africa, or the region as a whole, nearer to salvation. Salvation lies solely in putting an end once for all to the brutalities of *apartheid* in South Africa so that there will be no more Sowetos, Uitenhages, Sharpevilles, Langas and the rest, no more refugees scattered all over the sub-continent and the world at large raring to return to their country at all costs." [*2598th meeting, para. 40.*]

49. My delegation considers that the unprovoked attack against Botswana constitutes yet another serious violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State.

50. Allow me to take this opportunity, therefore, to express my delegation's full support for Botswana and our sympathy to the bereaved families of the latest victims of Pretoria's aggression and callous disregard for the princi-

ple of the inviolability of international boundaries, the Charter and the norms of international law.

51. My delegation strongly condemns South Africa's lawless action against Botswana and demands that the Pretoria régime desist forthwith from further aggressive acts against the front-line and other sovereign States. Consequently, my delegation will support the draft resolution contained in document S/17291, as orally revised.

52. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Sudan, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are pleased to participate in the Council's deliberations once again under your wise presidency, Sir, and we wish to renew our expression of thanks to you and the other members of the Council for affording my delegation an opportunity to speak in the Council on behalf of the Group of Arab States during its consideration of the latest act of aggression perpetrated by the Government of South Africa against civilian targets in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, on 14 June 1985.

54. This morning we listened to the comprehensive statement delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana, in which she detailed the damage resulting from the treacherous attack against Gaborone—an act of aggression that resulted in the death of 12 persons, including women and children; 6 wounded; the burning of some buses and the destruction of some homes and other properties.

55. South Africa's latest act of aggression against Botswana is but a link in a long chain of plots and planned acts of aggression directed against Botswana and the other front-line States. South Africa previously attacked Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, in January 1981; then again in May and in October 1983. It attacked Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, in December 1982; and yesterday we listened to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, who detailed acts of aggression by South Africa against his country since its independence. To that we must also add the occupation of Namibia and the exploitation of its wealth, the practice of the policy of *apartheid*, the killing of innocent Africans and the imprisonment of thousands of militants, all that in flagrant defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

56. After perpetrating all those crimes, the representative of the Pretoria régime had the effrontery to speak in the Council, as he did yesterday and last week, of the inalienable principles of international law and of the fact that "South Africa is convinced that the problems of our region cannot . . . be solved by violence".

57. The Pretoria Government claims that it attacked ANC bases in Gaborone. However, we may well ask: Was the killing of innocent children and foreigners in Gaborone part of that attack against an ANC base? Was the attack waged against the petroleum installation in Cabinda on 21 May 1985 an attack against an ANC base?

58. It is clear that the military operations undertaken by national liberation movements are being planned and executed from inside South Africa itself. The marches and demonstrations are all being planned and executed from within South Africa itself. Therefore, when South Africa failed to stifle the flames of revolution, when it failed to silence the freedom fighters, it resorted to the perpetration of its latest acts of aggression against Botswana and the other front-line States.

59. Those recurring developments, as well as the repeated acts of aggression being perpetrated against the front-line States and the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, all clearly demonstrate that the Pretoria Government is indeed the source of aggression and terrorism in southern Africa. They show that its policies and practices threaten international peace and security, because of that Government's insistence on the heinous policy of *apartheid* and its insistence on occupying Namibia.

60. Therefore the Council must condemn South Africa for its act of aggression against Botswana. It must demand that South Africa cease its violation of Botswana's independence and territorial integrity. It must impose sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. The international community must intensify its efforts to boycott South Africa and expose the crimes it perpetrates and the racist policies it follows. It must do so in order to isolate that régime and force it to abandon its policies that have led to instability in the region, prevent reaching a peaceful solution of the question of Namibia and elimination of the policy of *apartheid*, and have further hampered the efforts of the front-line States to devote their energies to development and enjoy their resources.

61. For that reason, we must also support the front-line States militarily, materially and politically, so that they may confront South Africa's aggression and protect their land and integrity. That was emphasized by the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 19 to 21 April this year, when it said in the Final Document:

> "The Bureau underscores the special position and role of the Frontline States of Southern Africa in the struggle against South Africa. The continuing solidarity and support of these states remain a *sine qua non* for success in international efforts to liberate Namibia as also the majority of South Africans themselves. The Bureau salutes the Frontline States for their steadfast support to the Namibian cause. It renews the Movement's pledge of support to the Frontline States. It notes the predicament in which some of these States which are particularly vulnerable find themselves, and

lays emphasis on the need for concrete assistance to them in order to help alleviate their economic problems." [*S/17184 and Corr.1, annex, para. 42.*]

62. In conclusion, we wish to reaffirm the Arab States' full support for Botswana in its efforts to defend its territory and independence. We particularly commend Botswana's support for, and granting of asylum to, the victims of *apartheid*. We strongly condemn the act of aggression perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime against Gaborone.

63. Mr. QIAN Yongnian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation listened carefully to the forceful complaint made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana about South Africa's attack on Gaborone. We entirely support the solemnly stated position of the Government of Botswana and its just demands. The Chinese delegation expresses its indignation over the barbarous acts of South Africa in attacking a peace-loving, neighbouring State, murdering and wounding innocent people, including women and children, and destroying houses and cars.

64. On 15 June, a spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying that the Chinese Government and people strongly condemned the South African authorities for carrying out acts of aggression against Botswana and that China profoundly sympathized with, and supported, the struggle of the Government and people of Botswana to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. On 17 June, the Chinese delegation reiterated that position in the Council, and I shall not repeat it now.

65. The Chinese delegation believes that South Africa's latest invasion of Botswana, at a time when the Council was considering the question of Namibia, not only violated Botswana's national sovereignty and territorial integrity but also constituted an open provocation of the international community and the Council. Therefore, the Council should adopt effective measures to put an end to South Africa's trampling underfoot the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. The Chinese delegation entirely supports the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned members of the Council.

66. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate that the position of the Chinese Government on the question of southern Africa has been clear and consistent. Botswana and the other African countries can rest assured that the Chinese Government and a billion Chinese people stand at their side, as in the past, and support their just struggle to safeguard their national sovereignty and territorial integrity and their opposition to *apartheid* and South Africa's aggression.

67. Mr. LUNA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For the third time in only a few days the Council is meeting to examine a serious situation created in southern Africa and to listen to the representative of a Member State that has suffered the violation of the elementary rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in age-old civilized practice.

68. My delegation listened with alarm to the detailed statement of the facts made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana, whom I ask to convey to the bereaved families of the victims of that despicable act of aggression the sincere condolences of my Government.

69. The unjustified and wanton act of aggression committed on 14 June against the capital of Botswana by a State that continues to defy this organization naturally deserves international condemnation. But it should also cause the Council to be legitimately concerned about genuine respect for the principles contained in the Charter, the validity of the resolutions that the Council adopts, the limits of the action and the credibility of the United Nations in general.

70. My country deplores South Africa's new act of armed aggression, which flagrantly prejudices Botswana's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the inviolability of its frontiers. We also vigorously uphold and support Botswana's right to receive appropriate and adequate compensation for the damage caused.

71. Finally, my country expresses its genuine concern over the constant repetition of actions that every time they are committed make even more difficult the exercise of the legitimate right of the countries of southern Africa to live in peace and in conditions of independence and genuine, legal equality that allow them to achieve their well-being in the best possible conditions.

72. It is our hope that the Government of South Africa will reflect on the matter and understand that it is not ethical or useful to continue obstinately alienating both its own people and the international community.

73. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

74. Mr. von SCHIRNDING (South Africa): As I have listened to the progress of this debate, it has become increasingly apparent to me that this meeting of the Council has been called to create the impression in the international community that the South African Defence Force's operation against ANC targets—I repeat, ANC targets—at Gaborone on 14 June was somehow intended, as the office of the President of Botswana would have us believe, as an act of brutality and violence perpetrated by the South African Government, and that this was particularly deplorable considering the repeated assurances of the Botswana Government that it does not permit its territory to be used for launching attacks against neighbouring countries.

75. Well, the facts are somewhat different. The true state of affairs leading up to the events in Gaborone is contained in the statement issued on 14 June by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, which was circulated in document S/17282. In addition, Minister Botha dispatched a message to the Botswana Minister for Foreign Affairs on 20 June, in which he expressed regret at the loss

of innocent life, an aspect the Minister of Botswana failed to mention this morning.

76. Mr. Botha went on to observe that he trusted that the Minister would reciprocate the sentiment in respect to the lives of the innocent people killed and murdered in South Africa as a result of ANC terrorism emanating from Botswana. Mr. Botha further informed Miss Chiepe that, after the signing of the Accord of Nkomati [*S/16451 of 30 March 1984, annex I*], the ANC decided to concentrate on Botswana in seeking new bases for launching its terrorist attacks against South Africa. In the course of 1984, the ANC availed itself of its official political presence in Botswana and, by way of a secret communiqué to all ANC members in Botswana, placed them on full-scale armed alert and established large caches of arms and ammunition in Botswana. The Botswana Government must surely be fully conversant with these facts.

77. The Botswana Government—the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, added in his communication—had repeatedly been urged by the South African Government and the South African security authorities to curtail the activities of the ANC inside Botswana and in particular the planning and execution of terrorist activities in South Africa from Botswana. The Botswana Government had, moreover, on a number of occasions had its attention drawn to the infiltration of ANC terrorists into South Africa from third countries through Botswana, and the Botswana Government was requested to take appropriate measures to prevent this infiltration.

78. However, the Botswana Government was not able to reach an acceptable understanding with the South African Government on the combating of acts of terror against South Africa from Botswana. South Africa, therefore, made it clear that it reserved the right to take steps to prevent acts of terror and sabotage from being planned and executed from neighbouring States.

79. As Minister Botha pointed out, peace and stability in southern Africa cannot be maintained if terrorists intent on the overthrow by force of a sovereign Government are harboured in the territory of a neighbouring State, be it with or without that State's knowledge or consent. Such a situation is obviously untenable.

80. It has always been the South African Government's belief that the problems of the southern African region should be solved by the leaders of the region. And it was for that reason that earnest appeals were made to the Botswana Government to give attention to this problem with a view to reaching an understanding on effective and practical arrangements between the security forces of South Africa and Botswana to ensure that the territory of neither was used for the planning or execution of acts of sabotage or terrorism against the other.

81. Since August 1984, the ANC has been responsible for 36 acts of terror and violence which were planned and executed from Botswana. During that period, six persons were murdered and extensive damage was caused to a power station near Rustenburg and the properties of individual South African citizens.

82. Minister Botha further drew the attention of the Botswana Minister for Foreign Affairs to the fact that the actions of the ANC in Botswana cannot be reconciled with the public statements of the Government of Botswana to the effect that it would not allow its territory to be used for the purpose of committing violence against its neighbours. Although the Botswana Government stated that it had limited the ANC to a political office in Botswana, the action of 14 June 1985 confirmed the existence in Gaborone of operational ANC centres dealing with logistics and the gathering of information for the purpose of planning and committing violence and sabotage in South Africa. Thus, for example, among the persons who lost their lives in that operation were persons involved in bomb attacks and other forms of violence in South Africa. Further evidence of the violent intentions of the ANC operating from Botswana is provided by the discovery of a huge arms cache in Gaborone, subsequently confirmed by the Botswana Government on 26 April 1985. Certainly these facts refute the claims to refugee status made on behalf of the ANC. They speak, I submit, for themselves.

83. Finally, allow me to quote from an address which my State President made to the South African Parliament on 19 June 1985. President Botha said:

> "Ignoring the incontrovertible evidence as to the actions and plans of ANC terrorists in Botswana, they are portrayed as 'freedom fighters' or 'refugees' in emotional attacks against the alleged tyrannical rule of the South African Government. Measures which we are taking within the framework of established principles of international law to protect our population and our property are decried as violations of the sovereignty of other States. In other words, Botswana has the sovereign right to harbour terrorists and South Africa is expected to sit back and allow those terrorists to cross our borders and kill our citizens with impunity. My Government does not accept this warped concept of sovereignty. And if the Western countries were true to the norms and standards which they insist on and which they apply in similar circumstances, then they would agree with my Government. It is and remains the responsibility of each Government to ensure the security of its people. My Government will not abdicate this responsibility.
>
> "It is simply unacceptable to us that our neighbours pay lip-service to the principle that States should not make their territories available for the launching of terrorist attacks against their neighbours while at the same time harbouring terrorists in their countries."

President Botha concluded as follows:

> "On behalf of the South African Government, I once again offer to all our neighbours a hand of friendship and a readiness to come to an understanding on the basis of certain ground rules which in my opinion ought

to form the guidelines for regulating and normalizing our relations. These ground rules include an unqualified prohibition on support for cross-border violence or the planning of such violence, the removal of foreign forces from the region, the peaceful resolution of disputes, regional co-operation in meeting common challenges and toleration of the different socio-economic and political systems within our region."

84. Although South Africa is committed to resolving its differences with its neighbours by peaceful means, we will not hesitate to take whatever action is necessary for the defence of our peoples and for the elimination of terrorist elements. It is for the Government of Botswana to decide whether it is in its own interest, and in the interests of the region as a whole, that it should continue to harbour ANC terrorists on its soil or whether President Botha's ground rules for peaceful coexistence, which we enumerated in the Council as recently as yesterday, do not provide the best assurances for peace and stability in our region.

85. As for the ANC, the message is crystal clear: if they attempt to strike at us, we will strike back—wherever they may lurk.

86. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

87. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): On the morning of the 14th of this month, at a time when the Council was considering the ongoing aggression by the *apartheid* régime against the people of Namibia, that régime sent its murderous forces into Botswana. Under the cover of darkness, it visited death and destruction upon innocent South African refugees and other innocent civilians. The casualty count stands at 12 dead and several wounded. The material damage has yet to be assessed fully. This unprovoked dastardly attack against a peaceful neighbour is a clear manifestation of the régime's intention to step up its campaign of military aggression against its neighbours. That was reaffirmed only a few minutes ago in arrogant fashion.

88. That the attack was planned and executed to coincide with the Council's consideration of the régime's ongoing aggression in Namibia and against Angola also speaks of the regard South Africa has for the Council. Indeed, if those habitual apologists for the régime in the Council need any proof of the duplicity and bad faith of *apartheid*, they should look no further. South Africa has demonstrated once more that there are no bounds to its viciousness in defence of racism. We condemn this latest escalation of aggression in Botswana.

89. That the *apartheid* régime should talk about peace and commit aggression at the same time is not to be unexpected, for, while the tactics of that régime may change from time to time relative to the requirements of dealing with its neighbours, neither its objectives in the region nor the political reality inside South Africa have changed. South Africa's basic objective, whether in its dealings with its neighbours or the black people internally, has always been and remains the defence of *apartheid*. The régime tries to camouflage its atrocious acts by making spurious claims that it is the subject of attack emanating from the neighbouring countries. The reality is that its borders have never been trangressed or threatened by the neighbouring African States. Like those who burned the Reichstag, the régime in Pretoria is raising an anti-communist and pro-white hysteria with a view to winning support for its internal repression and external aggression.

90. The *apartheid* régime has no reasonable cause to fear Botswana. Indeed, if it threatens South Africa in any manner or form, it is because Botswana represents the values of democracy, human dignity and decency, the upholding of which runs counter to the philosophy of Boer racism. The régime fears the black people of South Africa, those angry victims of *apartheid*. It is they who justly threaten and will finally destroy the institutions and the ideology of *apartheid*. For the savagery and unacceptability of the *apartheid* system itself makes opposition to it inevitable. The South African racists and their benefactors in the West know that the rest is propaganda. They equally know that no frequency or magnitude of attacks against the neighbouring countries will create safety for *apartheid*.

91. The attack against Gaborone provides further proof, if any were needed, that, contrary to the propaganda campaigns about its so-called goodwill, the régime in Pretoria remains obstinate. Indeed, how cynical of a terrorist régime to keep suggesting that the problems of our region cannot be solved by violence, when in fact violence is its only means of existence. It represses and aggresses against millions, imprisons thousands and even kills hundreds. It is the *apartheid* régime which perpetuates violence. The very nature of *apartheid* is violent. The talk of the so-called cross-border violence is but an attempt to rationalize its continued acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbours.

92. We, the front-line States, continue to believe that the system of *apartheid* is as brutal and immoral as it is irredentist. It follows, therefore, that any means of its sustenance is equally immoral and perpetuates brutality. The overwhelming majority of the world community share with us this conviction, as well as the resolve to work for the weakening and finally the destruction of that scourge of racism. In this endeavour we realize that, due to our proximity to the enemy, we will endure the brunt of the wrath of the *apartheid* régime. As internal resistance consolidates and external opposition mounts, the régime will become more and more desperate and increasingly aggressive. It is imperative, therefore, that those more powerful, with leverage over South Africa, should desist from appeasing the racists and should take a firm stand against *apartheid*. South Africa should not be pampered. Its acts of aggression, not to mention its evils, should not be rationalized, and neither should its obstruction of the independence of Namibia.

93. The Council has on numerous occasions been prevented from adopting effective measures against that

régime. Even talk of sanctions to stay the hand of *apartheid* invites inexplicable anger and vicious opposition from certain members of the Council. Let me reiterate what we have already stated—that those countries that have so far been reluctant to see reason, those countries that have so far continued to give aid and comfort to the racist régime, directly and by devious means, should draw a lesson from the pages of history. They must desist from appeasing aggression. In so far as they continue to refuse to see reason and chose instead to go into partnership with *apartheid*, they must share the responsibility for the escalation of aggression by the *apartheid* régime. Be it within the framework of an engagement—whether constructive or otherwise—or of traditional political relationships, those countries that continue to go against international opinion have only managed to sustain racism in South Africa and strengthen its aggressive capability, and they have thus facilitated the attacks against the neighbours of South Africa. The international community has repeatedly warned that collaboration with the régime strengthens it. Waging propaganda campaigns on its behalf emboldens it. Those countries' indefensible relationship with *apartheid* South Africa has proved inimical to the struggle for freedom and justice in that country, and it undermines the prospects for peace and stability in the region as well as international efforts to eliminate *apartheid*.

94. Engagement with South Africa—constructive or otherwise—is an engagement with racism. It is wrong. It assumes that *apartheid* is rational and can thus listen to reason. But, as the murderous record of that régime demonstrates, it is irrational and vicious. It cannot be engaged into change with kindness. Certainly it cannot be destroyed by a policy of appeasement.

95. We renew our appeal to the proponents of that policy to abandon it. They should hear the cry of agony of the widows and widowers, the orphans and the maimed, all victims of *apartheid*. They should hear the cry of anger of the masses of the people of South Africa. Time bought for South African *apartheid* is time for more suppression, more misery and more death. They should hear the voice of the victims of aggression in Botswana, in Angola, in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique and in the Seychelles.

96. The front-line States will continue to fulfil their noble duty of giving full support to the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle for freedom and justice. Equally, we shall continue to fulfil our international obligations to give asylum to refugees fleeing the brutality of *apartheid*. To do so is consistent with international law and a specific requirement under the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees[1] and the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.[2] We will do so in full recognition of the fact that no peace and security can prevail in southern Africa until Namibia achieves independence, until the *apartheid* régime stops its campaigns of aggression and, above all, until the evil system of *apartheid* is eliminated. We believe that this can be achieved, not through accommodation with *apartheid*, but through its isolation and ostracization. We will continue to demand that the Council take effective action, specifically under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

97. Botswana has been forced to come before the Council partly because of omission on the part of the Council. For had the Council taken action against the racist régime, had the more powerful members of the Council not allowed that régime such leeway, it would not have committed so much aggression at will. Indeed, had those more powerful members, consistent with their often talked-about abhorrence of *apartheid*, given material support to Botswana and the other neighbouring countries to withstand aggression, South Africa would not have been so prone to attack. We therefore call upon the Council to appeal to the international community to come to the aid of Botswana. At the same time, the Council, while strongly condemning that régime, must reaffirm the right of Botswana to claim compensation for the loss of human life and damage to property consequent upon the racist attack.

98. In conclusion, I wish to read out a message from the President of my country, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, addressed to President Masire of Botswana, following that attack. The message reads:

> "On behalf of all the people and of the Government of Tanzania, as well as on my own behalf, I wish to convey to you and to your Government and people our horror at the dastardly attack on Botswana by the South African racists yesterday.
>
> "The completely unprovoked aggression against a small and peaceful neighbour whose only offence is that it stands for decency and humanity is yet another example of the evil and aggressive nature of the *apartheid* régime.
>
> "Ever since independence the Botswana Government has made two things quite clear both to the enemies and the friends of *apartheid*. The first is that it is fundamentally opposed to racism, will continue to say so and will observe the international conventions respecting the reception and care of refugees from the *apartheid* State as well as any other area. The second is that Botswana is unable to allow its territory to be used as a base for the opposition forces of the people of South Africa.
>
> "The liberation movements know your position and have respected your decision. The South Africans know it and have never accepted your decision. For the existence of a peaceful and progressive non-racial State on its borders is a demonstration to the South African people of the meaning of real freedom and independence.
>
> "The *apartheid* régime, therefore, continues its efforts of pressuring Botswana into becoming its puppet and into acting as its policeman along your common border. To their eternal credit, the Botswana people and their Government have reacted with great courage and refused to succumb to these attacks on their own human and national integrity.
>
> "Yesterday's raid was a terrible escalation of the pressure, reinforced by the *apartheid* régime's threat to

repeat the operation whenever it felt that this would serve its evil purposes.

"I ask you to accept and to convey to the bereaved and the injured in particular, but also to all the people of Botswana, our sincerest condolences and sympathy. We continue to stand in solidarity with your struggle to uphold the freedom and dignity of your country and of all human beings.

"We also call upon the whole international community, and particularly all the friends of South Africa, to exert the maximum pressure on the *apartheid* State and to demand that it desist immediately from such attacks upon its neighbours, from the wanton murder of their citizens and those victims of *apartheid* to whom they have given refuge and from its attempts to destabilize independent African States."

99. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw to the attention of the Council to the following two further revisions of the draft resolution contained in document S/17291. Operative paragraph 4 should read:

"*Denounces and rejects* racist South Africa's practice of 'hot pursuit' to terrorize and destabilize Botswana and other countries in southern Africa;".

Operative paragraph 8 (*b*) should read:

"Proposing measures to strengthen Botswana's capacity to receive and provide assistance to South African refugees;".

100. Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For the third time in the relatively short period of two weeks, the Council is considering the question of the aggressive actions of the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring States. The latest victim of these actions has been the small State of Botswana. Today the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana has described the act of aggression committed against her country and furnished details on the victims and the material damage.

101. This unprovoked act of armed aggression committed by the South African racists against the capital of that country left dead and wounded, including women and children. This act of terrorism against Botswana demonstrates that, in spite of the categorical condemnation by the Council and by the international community, Pretoria is stepping up its acts of aggression against the whole of the southern African subregion. This was also demonstrated by the cynical assertions of South Africa's leaders. For example, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the South African racist régime, in a statement made on 14 June this year, issued a high-handed warning to the effect that South Africa reserves its right to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring States as and when it deems fit. The statement of the South African representative in the Council today once again has confirmed the racists' intent to continue their bandit-like attacks and acts of aggression against neighbouring African States.

102. The Ukrainian delegation categorically condemns the act of aggression committed by the South African racist régime against Botswana, as well as the continuing acts of aggression against other independent African countries, and calls for their immediate and unconditional cessation. We should like to express our profound condolences to the families which suffered as the result of the aggression.

103. The Council, as we have proposed earlier, should take effective comprehensive measures against the racist régime, including measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

104. We should like to stress once again that responsibility for the acts of aggression committed by Pretoria is shared by the powerful Western protectors and defenders of the racists. The racist régime of *apartheid* could not even exist without their support.

105. The Ukrainian SSR wishes to confirm its solidarity with the peace- and freedom-loving peoples of Africa, first and foremost the front-line States, and also with the national liberation movements of Africa struggling for their independence, freedom and an opportunity to build their own independent future.

106. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the draft resolution contained in document S/17291 as orally revised.

107. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. KOFA (Liberia): Mr. President, please accept our warmest appreciation of the able manner in which you are directing the affairs of the Council and for your allowing me to make a statement on the matter before the Council in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States.

109. Once again, the vicious and racist South African régime has carried out one of its evil military attacks on another peace-loving African country. This criminal and murderous action took place on the morning of 14 June, when Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, was awakened by the sound of machine guns fired by South African soldiers and commando units searching for members of the ANC, whom they regard as posing a threat to their established order. The unprovoked military raid on the capital of the independent State of Botswana resulted in the loss of 12 innocent lives, including that of a six-year-old child, and left many others wounded and maimed.

110. The African Group learned with utter disgust of the senseless raid into Botswana by soldiers of the racist régime of South Africa. This act of banditry, coming at a time when the Council was considering punitive measures against the *apartheid* régime in connection with its illegal

occupation of Namibia and the installation of a puppet interim administration there, proves beyond doubt Pretoria's arrogance and total disregard for the feelings and views of the Council and of the international community towards its repugnant policy.

111. We view the invasion, conducted on the pretext of identifying ANC targets, as an act of infamy that must be strongly condemned by the Council. The outrageous behaviour and manoeuvres of Pretoria were aimed at destroying the socio-economic infrastructure of the front-line States in order to pressure them into accepting the racist régime's wild dream of a "constellation" of States.

112. The attack on Botswana was one of a series of acts of intimidation against the front-line States with the object of forcing them to abandon their sacred duty to give sanctuary to those who are fleeing from the brutal suppression of human rights in *apartheid* South Africa, as well as of establishing hegemony over the whole of southern Africa and discouraging support for the total liberation of the entire region.

113. In view of those designs, it is now imperative for the Council to take effective and concrete measures against the racist régime, whose repeated acts of brutality and violence, including murder, blackmail, kidnapping and the destruction of vital sectors of economic activity, are particularly deplorable considering the numerous assurances given by the Government of Botswana that it does not permit its territory to be used for launching attacks against neighbouring countries, including South Africa itself. South Africa must make full and adequate compensation to Botswana for the loss of human lives and the damage resulting from its acts of aggression. Member States should be urged to extend all necessary assistance to Botswana in order that it may be able to continue to receive and give sanctuary to the victims of *apartheid*, in accordance with its humanitarian principles and the demands of international law and morality.

114. We recognize that the majority of members of the Council have on a number of occasions shown their determination to act against the monstrous régime in South Africa. But the Council has been powerless to take such action owing to the high degree of tolerance shown towards the racist régime by some of the Council's permanent members, which have frustrated the clear desire of the international community for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We therefore believe that the event of 14 June has provided the Council with the opportunity to take the kind of measures which will end South Africa's practice of hot pursuit, by means of which it terrorizes and destabilizes Botswana and other countries in the southern African region. The time has finally arrived for the Western friends and allies of South Africa to assess their relationship with that country, taking into full account the gravity of the present situation in southern Africa. They should bring their moral and political will to bear on South Africa to end its continued attacks on neighbouring States and to prevent a racial blood-bath in the southern African region.

115. The savagery and lawlessness with which South Africa conducts its campaign of violence and destruction, as tactics of its hegemonic policy, pose a serious challenge to the authority of the Council and a further test of its responsibility to safeguard international peace and security. The Council must now exercise the powers entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations to compel South Africa to comply with internationally accepted norms of civilized behaviour. The Council has the obligation to contribute to the promotion of a peaceful resolution of the highly charged situation in southern Africa, so that the peoples of Botswana and all the other front-line States can live in peace.

116. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): In beginning my statement, I must comment on the remarkable address we heard this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana. The Minister's statement provided us with a cogent, measured and eloquent statement of Botswana's policy of peaceful coexistence with its neighbours, of its attempts to pursue that policy in its relations with South Africa, and of the events of the morning of 14 June. I should like to express directly to the Minister of Botswana my delegation's appreciation for her contribution to the quality of our proceedings.

117. This is the second time in as many days that the Council has met to consider and vote on the question of South Africa's military operations against its neighbours. The attack in Gaborone, with the resulting loss of life, was a particularly deplorable violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Botswana. The United States condemns that attack, and we extend our deepest sympathies to the people of Botswana who suffered as a result of it.

118. We have pointed out in a number of statements in this Chamber over the past several days that respect for the sovereignty of all States and the inviolability of international borders are key principles in international relations, and that no State can arrogate to itself the right to violate those principles. We cannot and will not condone violations of them by whatever State, for whatever reason. Such cross-border violence only complicates efforts to bring peace to the southern African region.

119. At the same time, my Government does not condone the recent bombings and other acts of violence within South Africa and cannot accept a right to launch such actions from beyond South Africa's borders. We cannot accept the right of any State to harbour terrorists. In this connection, my Government was particularly gratified to hear the Botswana Minister for Foreign Affairs' firm, unequivocal statement of her Government's policy towards any such cross-border operations.

120. That statement, particularly in the emotion-charge aftermath of the South African raid, is especially welcome. We believe that South Africa can and should respond in kind. That would be a substantial contribution to increased regional stability and peace. Both the Botswana Minister for Foreign Affairs and senior South African officials have affirmed their willingness to take steps to control

cross-border violence. We hope that the mechanisms that have been put in place will be utilized and that the dialogue which was under way before the Gaborone raid will be resumed.

121. My Government will join with others in the Council in supporting the draft resolution presented by the non-aligned members. We wish to take note of the flexibility the delegation of Botswana has shown in its presentation of the draft resolution to Council members. However, my delegation wishes to express the view that the last preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 2 contain language or formulations we do not regard as appropriate to Security Council resolutions. We also reiterate the view that nothing in this draft resolution carries the implication, in this instance, that action under Chapter VII of the Charter is contemplated.

122. Despite those reservations, my delegation wishes to send a strong message by its positive vote: a message that the United States strongly deplores the South African military action. We hope this message will be heard and heeded.

123. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

124. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic): Once again, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving me an opportunity to participate, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European socialist States, in the discussion on the question now under consideration.

125. It is now the third time in less than two weeks that my delegation, as Chairman of that Group, appears before this body to join the voices of protest, indignation and grave concern. And it is the third time in this period that the *apartheid* régime is in the pillory. The continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and the non-compliance with resolution 435 (1978), escalating acts of aggression, violence and destabilization against the People's Republic of Angola, and, now, the savage raid against Botswana—all this proves that the racists in Pretoria deliberately challenge the world community by intensifying their campaign of military aggression against neighbouring sovereign States.

126. We think it was not by accident that Pretoria launched the brutal attack against Gaborone at a time when the Council was considering steps for settling the question of Namibia—appropriate steps to improve the situation in the entire region of southern Africa. This latest unprovoked and unwarranted raid against defenceless, innocent citizens is an expression of the racists' disregard for this organ.

127. What will now be the response of the Council? There can be only one answer to this: *apartheid*, the boil in the flesh of Africa, must be burnt out before it is too late.

128. We listened with great interest and sympathy to what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana so eloquently pointed out this morning. The killing of unarmed civilians in Gaborone—among them a child and three women—can only give rise to condemnation and disgust and, at the same time, to the firm determination to do everything to put that abhorrent racist system in the place it deserves. The message to be conveyed to Pretoria by the Council must be unambiguous; it must be directed at decisive measures aimed at putting an end to the aggressive policy of that totally immoral and dangerous system.

129. As has been stated by the Office of the President of Botswana, the attack against Gaborone is to be seen "as South Africa's fulfilment of its threat in February this year to invade Botswana" [*see S/17274, annex*]. In view of this, we regard it as a shame when there are still members in the Council who condone the aggressive character of the racists and who, against all common sense, want to make the world believe that there are changes carried out in South Africa and that, therefore, one should wait, as it is not urgent now to impose sanctions. But it is imperative to act now. Every additional day of *apartheid*'s existence is one more day of suffering for the majority of the people inside the country, of threats to neighbouring States and of danger to international peace and security. Thus, each day of *apartheid* is one day too many. The Council must react now, and it must react resolutely.

130. Once again, we demand the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Only thus can we force Pretoria to abide by the resolutions of the Council, which means to abandon *apartheid* forthwith, to comply with resolution 435 (1978) and to refrain from all acts of aggression and destabilization against peace-loving neighbouring States.

131. What prevents us from reaching that goal? Nothing else than the global strategic and economic interests of certain imperialist circles which continue to collaborate with and support the racist régime in order to maintain South Africa as their last bastion on the continent—a bastion which creates instability, insecurity and war in the region. It is not only once that the *apartheid* policy has been condemned in United Nations resolutions as a threat to international peace and security, and not only once that Pretoria has furnished proof of the rightfulness of that condemnation. In view of that, the wide gap existing between words and deeds of the imperialist allies of South Africa is one filled with suffering and shot, murdered or injured innocent men, women and children.

132. There is no doubt that as active opposition inside the country itself grows, uniting more and more people under the leadership of its liberation movement, at the solidarity movement for this struggling people spreads across the earth, so will Pretoria react in its abhorrent and notorious manner. The South African racists know only too well that their time is over and that they have long since been superseded by history. But we know that a wounded beast of prey is extremely dangerous. Yesterday it was the commando raid into Cabinda Province of the

People's Republic of Angola; today it is the barbaric attack against Gaborone, capital of a country which seeks to live in peace with all its neighbours. Who will fall victims to Pretoria's policy tomorrow?

133. We, the Eastern European socialist States, will continue to do our utmost to stop the crimes of the *apartheid* régime. We stand in firm solidarity at the side of all those who fight against the Pretoria régime, be they inside South Africa itself, in Namibia, or in the neighbouring States. The struggle of those peoples is inevitable as long as *apartheid* exists.

134. We associate ourselves with the following statement issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe on 14 June 1985, on the occasion of the raid on Botswana by forces of the racist South African régime:

> "the spirit and flame of freedom will continue to burn more and more fiercely within each and every one of us until that evil spectre of *apartheid* is totally and finally destroyed" [*see S/17278, annex*].

135. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Swaziland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

136. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): Allow me, Sir, to express to you and the members of the Council the sincere gratitude of my delegation for giving us this opportunity to participate in the Council's discussion on a grave matter. It concerns criminal acts of aggression, violation of the territorial integrity of an independent State, murder in cold blood and the destruction of property, committed yet again by the Pretoria Government, this time against the Republic of Botswana, a fraternal country in our region of southern Africa, a country that over the years has been a beacon of peace and a symbol of that rare commodity called democracy.

137. The attack on Botswana, a country with which the Swazis share the heritage of geography, history and culture, came as a great shock. It struck deep into the roots of every Swazi in every village, in every valley, on every mountain top. It was that intensity of emotional feeling shared by the two peoples that prompted my delegation to ask to be allowed to participate in the Council's deliberations. Our being able to do so gives my delegation an opportunity to convey to the Government and people of Botswana our sincere condolences on the tragic loss of life and the destruction of property.

138. Before I briefly explain my delegation's position on the matter, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June, a month that will go down in African history as one in which southern Africa bled and, suffocated by frustration, the international community expressed its utmost indignation and revulsion at the brutal acts of oppression. Your Minister and you yourself, Sir, have conducted the Council's affairs with the distinction to which we have become accustomed; congratulations.

139. According to the account given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana, on the morning of 14 June this year, members of the South African Defence Force illegally entered the territory of Botswana and murdered 12 civilians, most of them in their sleep. The victims included three women and five children. The representative of Lesotho told the Council about the murder of a small Lesotho child. His account creates in my mind a replay of those tragic events, which can never be blotted out of our minds, that occurred in Cassinga, in Soweto and in Uitenhage, where small children who were proceeding to a funeral procession were shot in the back.

140. From the account of the representative of Lesotho, it seems to my delegation that what occurred in Botswana was not a question of the victims being caught up in the crossfire between two armed forces. The killers came in the still of the night to massacre innocent women and children in their sleep and then went on a brutal hunting expedition for Botswana nationals who, in the words of the Botswana Minister this morning, were going about their business in their own land. We learned that that cross-border act of what we consider to be State-engineered terrorism was not provoked by the Government and people of Botswana.

141. The Charter of the United Nations is very explicit on such matters: it requires all Member States, irrespective of their position in the inter-State power hierarchy, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of an independent, sovereign State. We of the Swaziland delegation therefore submit that the action taken by the Government of South Africa against the Republic of Botswana is not at all consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter, and constitutes a naked act of aggression.

142. In seeking to justify its action, the Government of South Africa suggested that its bloody expedition across the borders of our region was an act of self-preservation, based on Article 51 of the Charter. Of course, that Article recognizes the right self-defence, which is, in the words of Dean Acheson, inherent in the very existence of nationhood. However, the exercise of that right is conditional; it can be exercised only in circumstances in which an armed attack is imminent or has occurred. In the matter before the Council there was no armed attack organized or contemplated by the Botswana Government against South Africa. Therefore, that provision of the Charter cannot be invoked to legitimize sending an armed force into the territory of a neighbouring State.

143. According to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana this morning, no evidence of a military nature has been established to link violent incidents that occurred inside South Africa—of course, as a result of internal policies of *apartheid*—with the bombing of houses in Gaborone. The persons killed, according to the Minister in her eloquent presentation this morning, were civilians. Some of them were refugees, whose visibility and action were public knowledge, and who could not be considered to be a threat to a State as powerful as South Africa.

144. Listening to the Minister's statement this morning about South Africa's intelligence-gathering sophistication and its ability to detect infiltration caused me to recall what I told the Council on 16 December 1982, when it was considering South Africa's aggression against Lesotho. I said then:

> "South Africa's attempt to justify its act of aggression against Lesotho strikes a false note, because King Moshoeshoe, in his address the day before yesterday, stated that the attacks alleged to have been launched from Lesotho occurred a long distance from the borders. It is therefore surprising that South Africa, which maintains the most sophisticated security network in the region, should have been unable to detect the so-called saboteurs during their sojourn in its territory." [*2408th meeting, para. 117.*]

But it could easily detect them in Botswana, in a neighbouring State. I continued:

> "South Africa appears, then, to be trying to make its neighbours responsible for its internal security . . .". [*Ibid.*]

or lack of it.

145. We have just heard the representative of South Africa confirming before the Council that it is the responsibility of a poor, struggling neighbouring country to ensure the security of South Africa. My delegation would have been pleased to hear him address the Botswana Minister for Foreign Affairs' remarks when she extended a hand of friendship in reiterating before the Council her country's willingness to maintain good-neighbourly relations with South Africa. We, the Swazis, believe in negotiations.

146. In that same statement before the Council, I said:

> ". . . The late King Sobhuza was an advocate of peaceful contact and exchange of views between conflicting parties. Some of the heads of State of the region have also bilaterally extended"—to South Africa—"an olive branch.
>
> "In spite of these efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful contacts, a false picture of neighbouring States as launching bases for subversive attacks is being developed so as to justify . . . murder and State terrorism.
>
> "Swaziland is particularly saddened by these tragic developments, because King Sobhuza attempted to create"—and the present Government is attempting to create—"an atmosphere conducive to dialogue and peaceful negotiations within the region . . .". [*Ibid., paras. 19 to 121.*]

147. We certainly do not merely pay lip-service to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. We, like the people of Botswana, are practitioners of the principle of good-neighbourliness; of course, it is common knowledge that we, the Swazis, have even taken further bold steps in the hope of inducing the evolution of a climate conducive to a healthy exchange of views that perhaps one day would lead to a peaceful solution of the problems confronting the region. We were and still are signalling to South Africa the need to adopt flexibility; the need for South Africa also to take bold steps—I repeat, bold steps—to break down the strong attitudinal and prejudice barriers, especially those of *apartheid*, that have stood for so long in the way of genuine peace in our region. Violence such as has occurred in Botswana poisons the atmosphere that is conducive even to the eradication of *apartheid* itself.

148. It is also much regretted that the people of Namibia and the black people of South Africa have been so long denied their rights to self-determination. These are the two barriers that must come down in our region if we are to attain peace. The flexing of military power against poor neighbouring States is certainly not an investment in the treasury of peace we all so much cherish. We therefore call on our neighbour, South Africa, to take action that will build peace bridges across the frontiers of our region.

149. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Benin. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

150. Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me to extend to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Benin on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Your qualities of a seasoned diplomat, your extensive experience in international issues and your wisdom lead us to hope that the current debate will lead to decisions which will force the régime of Pretoria to heed the demands of the international community.

151. I should like, through you, to thank all the members of the Council for having acceded to our request to speak on the urgent question under discussion.

152. We should also like to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Kasemsri, the representative of Thailand, our congratulations for having so effectively guided the work of the Council during the past month.

153. This is now the third time in less than 10 days that the Council is meeting to discuss various crimes committed by the racist régime of Pretoria against the peoples and States of southern Africa in particular and against peace and international security in general.

154. First we heard a firm condemnation of the régime of *apartheid* for its colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia and for its equally illegal setting up of the so-called interim government in Windhoek. In its resolution 566 (1985), the Council not only condemned the racist régime of South Africa for setting up this fraudulent so-called interim government, but also declared such action null and void.

155. Then it was the turn of the People's Republic of Angola to bring a complaint before the Council against the

apartheid régime of Pretoria, whose unceasing acts of aggression and violence perpetrated by its armed racist forces are jeopardizing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Angola, and represent a grave threat to peace and security in the region and on the international level. In its resolution 567 (1985) adopted last night, the Council strongly condemned the racist régime of Pretoria and demanded that South Africa should unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its occupation forces from the territory of Angola.

156. Today it is Botswana's turn to bring to the Council its complaint against the same *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Indeed, on 14 June at the crack of dawn, a commando unit of the Defence Force of the racist Pretoria régime launched a savage attack against the capital of Botswana, the city of Gaborone, which resulted in 12 dead and six wounded and considerable material damage.

157. Nor can anyone forget that, in its creeping acts of aggression, the racist régime of Pretoria has sent armed bands against front-line States, in particular Mozambique, the Seychelles and Lesotho.

158. The pursuit and intensification of the barbaric acts of aggression committed without any provocation by the racist régime of Pretoria against sovereign and independent front-line States are also crimes that are creating a particularly dangerous situation in southern Africa, representing a serious threat to international peace and security.

159. The racist régime of Pretoria is through these shameful crimes radically and dangerously violating and opposing the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular those set forth in Article 2, paragraph 4.

160. Is not scrupulous respect for those principles an essential condition for the survival of States, for the survival of small, defenceless States such as ours? But the racist régime of Pretoria does not see things in that light at all. Taking as its base its fascist system of *apartheid* and as an important factor its illegal colonial occupation of Namibia, whose people are exploited and whose immense resources are pillaged, the racist régime of Pretoria has embarked on a policy of continuing military aggression in southern Africa.

161. Repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States, in particular Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, the Seychelles and Lesotho, are integral elements of this policy of regional imperialism. These repeated acts of aggression in fact form the concrete means for the implementation of this diabolical policy aimed at smashing the natural and active solidarity that exists between the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa and the peoples of other neighbouring independent, countries of southern Africa, at imposing a neo-colonial solution in Namibia, at maintaining through intimidation and terror the racist régime in South Africa and at establishing and developing through intimidation and terror a climate of instability, neo-colonial dependence and destablization in southern Africa.

162. In the light of all these facts, is there any need further to stress why these unceasing armed acts of aggression, these violent acts of aggression perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria against the front-line States, represent for the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries a subject of grave concern?

163. For several years now, on numerous occasions, the Council has had before it complaints of neighbouring or bordering States against the fascist and racist régime of Pretoria regarding premeditated, continuing, persistent and prolonged armed invasions carried out by South Africa in flagrant violation of the airspace, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries. On all those occasions the Council has adopted resolutions and relevant decisions, to which South Africa has responded only with defiance, bad faith, duplicity and treachery, as is shown by the latest acts of aggression committed against Angola in May and Botswana in June, as well as refusal to carry out a full withdrawal of South African racist troops from Angola.

164. This defiance and this continuing arrogance on the part of South Africa are not only an insult to the international community; above all, they reflect the inability of the Council and, more specifically, the lack of political will on the part of some Powers to intervene promptly and firmly at a time when international peace and security are seriously threatened. Those Powers are clearly visible in South Africa in all sectors of economic activity, as well as in the strategic and military sectors.

165. This means that the duplicity and defiance South Africa is demonstrating only reflect the complaisance, indeed the complicity, of some great Powers regarding South Africa. We therefore understand the continued refusal of certain countries that are members of the Council to exert real and decisive pressure on South Africa and why binding political and economic measures have so far not been taken against South Africa.

166. Freedom-loving peoples throughout the world are ever more aware of the situation. That is why they are mobilizing to demand the isolation of South Africa, the taking of economic measures against the Pretoria régime, the condemnation and elimination of *apartheid*, the liberation of Namibia and condemnation of the policy of continuing military aggression against States of southern Africa.

167. Benin's position on the issue of the intensification of military armed acts of aggression by the racist régime of Pretoria against the front-line States, and in particular against Botswana, is very clear. For us, this policy of continuing aggression stems from the diabolical strategy of the racist régime of Pretoria aimed at enslaving the peoples of the region for the benefit of international imperialism to ensure the reign of *apartheid* and neo-colonialism, and the frenzied pillaging of resources.

168. My delegation firmly condemns the continued aggressive policy of South Africa against the front-line

States and firmly condemns the armed military invasion directed by the Pretoria régime against Botswana.

169. It is high time for the Council, without further delay, to take the measures necessary to ensure that its resolutions condemning the continuing acts of aggression of the racist Pretoria régime against the front-line States are respected. My delegation believes that, to that end, it is time also to impose binding, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation therefore hopes that at this meeting the Council will firmly condemn the racist South African régime's repeated violations of the sovereignty, integrity and independence of Member States and of international peace and security.

170. We should like to voice here the unswerving support and active solidarity of the people of Benin for all brotherly peoples of southern Africa, in particular the peoples of Angola and Botswana, in their struggle against the armed aggression of the Pretoria régime and for consolidation of their dearly-won independence.

171. Ready for the revolution; the struggle continues!

172. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

173. The Council must indeed be grateful to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana for a moving and lucid presentation of the details of the South African attack against Gaborone, which confirmed our own conclusion that that brutal attack and the killing of innocent, unarmed civilians, among whom were three women and a six-year-old child, were unprovoked and premeditated.

174. As internal opposition to *apartheid* grows stronger, as internal unrest becomes endemic, even as the movement of international public opinion against *apartheid* gathers momentum, the South African régime, refusing to accept as the real source of its troubles its own policies and attitudes, lashes out at its neighbours. This latest brutal attack provides further proof of the barbarity of the abhorrent racist régime in Pretoria.

175. Trinidad and Tobago considers the use of armed force in Gaborone by the army of the minority racist régime of South Africa on 14 June 1985 to be an act of aggression and a blatant violation of Botswana's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. That act is contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which stipulate the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any State. Trinidad and Tobago strongly condemns and denounces that vicious act of aggression.

176. In a message sent to President Masire of Botswana following the attack on Gaborone, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. George Chambers, stated:

> "On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, I wish to take this opportunity to condemn in the most vigorous terms South Africa's invasion of your country and to express my sympathy and that of the Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago over the loss of life and destruction of property.
>
> "Let me also take the opportunity to express my sincere hope that within the not too distant future, world opinion will force the termination of the reprehensible system of *apartheid* and usher in an era when all the peoples of South Africa, and indeed of southern Africa, could live in peace and harmony."

177. The minority régime cannot offer any consideration of whatever nature—political, economic, military or otherwise—to justify its cowardly act of aggression. That brutal and unwarranted act is all the more reprehensible when one considers the repeated assurances of the Botswana Government that it does not—I repeat, not—permit its territory to be used for launching attacks against neighbouring countries. The Pretoria régime must make full and adequate reparation to Botswana for this attack, which resulted in the tragic loss of life.

178. Even as we condemn South Africa for this attack and for its other acts of violence against its neighbours, we urge South Africa to heed the calls of the Council and to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

179. We wish at this moment to reaffirm our solidarity and sympathy with the people and Government of Botswana in their commitment to maintaining that country's political and territorial integrity. We feel that Botswana is to be commended for the sacrifices it has made and continues to make in giving asylum to victims of *apartheid*. The assassinations, the kidnappings and the destruction of property perpetrated in Botswana by the practitioners of *apartheid* have not served to swerve that truly heroic State from succouring refugees, its fellow men, fleeing the horror that is *apartheid*.

180. I now resume my function as PRESIDENT.

181. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it [*S/17291*]. If I hear no objection, I shall put it to a vote as orally revised.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution as orally revised was adopted unanimously [*resolution 568 (1985)*].

182. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): My delegation is delighted that the Council has adopted this resolution unanimously. This gives the Government of Botswana the support it was seeking. I would like to express sincere appreciation to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana and to the representative of Botswana for the wise

and helpful way in which they have brought their country's case to the Council, which is in keeping with the traditions and the high reputation of their country.

183. As with resolution 567 (1985), adopted yesterday, the United Kingdom does not interpret the term "act of aggression" in the text of this resolution as falling within the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations or as constituting a finding or decision which has specific consequences under the Charter. But although we may not endorse every formulation in it, our support for the purpose of this resolution whole-hearted.

184. Finally, I would like to repeat with added emphasis my earlier appeal to the Government of South Africa to pay the most careful attention to our proceedings today and to abide by the resolution which the Council has just adopted.

185. The PRESIDENT: The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana has asked to make a statement, and I now call upon her.

186. Miss CHIEPE (Botswana): At the risk of overtaxing the patience of the Council, I beg to be allowed to express to you, Mr. President, and to the Council as a whole, the profound gratitude of my delegation for your kind indulgence. I thank you all for your kind words of sympathy, support, understanding and encouragement. The Council has spoken with the voice, a very strong voice, in its unequivocal rejection of the use of force as a substitute for the peaceful resolution of conflicts or differences between or among States. This is as it should be, for it is the principle responsibility of this very important organ of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

187. As I said in my statement this morning, South Africa's threat that it will be back in my country soon for a repeat performance is very real indeed, and you have just heard it repeated. You have all heard what the representative of South Africa said. As usual, we were treated to a litany of baseless allegations so typical of South Africa. I have categorically refuted in advance all those allegations and will not waste the time of the Council in reciting once again what even South Africa knows to be the true facts. It is interesting to hear that, seven days after the attack on our capital, suddenly an arsenal of AK-47s and the rest is on display, when on Saturday, a day after the attack, only two lonely pieces of weapons were shown to the press as the loot hauled from the destroyed houses in Gaborone. Are we being taken for a ride, as the Americans would say?

188. I thank the Council for all its kind messages of condolences. They will be delivered to my Government and to the people of Botswana, as well as to those nations whose nationals were either murdered or injured on 14 June.

189. The PRESIDENT: The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545).

[2] Signed at New York on 28 September 1954 (*ibid.*, vol. 360, No. 5158).

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